APRIL, 1956

A CALL FOR ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

BIGOTRY DIMS SOUTH'S FUTURE

BOYCOTTS CUT TWO WAYS
William Gordon

INDUSTRY RISE AT STAKE
Douglas Smith

OKLAHOMA'S PROGRESS
Otis Durant Duncan

CONTENTS

A CALL FOR ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP 1

BIGOTRY DIMS THE SOUTH'S FUTURE 3

BOYCOTTS CAN CUT TWO WAYS *by William Gordon* 5

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS AT STAKE *by Douglas Smith* 11

DESEGREGATION IN OKLAHOMA *by Otis Durant Duncan* 12

PROGRESS SLOWED 16

. . . UNQUOTE 17

New South

April 1956 **Vol. 11, No. 4**

Published by

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

Marion A. Wright ..... President

Carter Wesley ..... Vice-President

Gordon B. Hancock ..... Vice-President

A. W. Dent ..... Vice-President

Rufus E. Clement ..... Chmn., Exec. Comm.

Leonard Haas ..... Counsel

George S. Mitchell ..... Exec. Director

Harold C. Fleming ..... Asst. Director for Information

John Constable ..... Managing Editor

Florence B. Irving ..... Research Assistant

Subscription rate ..... $2.00 a year

New South is published monthly except August by Southern Regional Council, Inc., 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia. Single copies may be purchased at twenty cents each; quantity rates on request.

New South NOTES

This particular issue of *New South* has been expanded from the customary 12 pages to 16 pages in order to present the increasing dangers to the economic and industrial progress of the South inherent in the present controversy over integration.

The lead article summarizes what national and regional leaders are saying concerning a situation they consider a threat to Southern economic progress and reprints a letter from the Southern Regional Council, which calls on the leadership of Southern Chambers of Commerce to help in promoting reasonable solutions to the segregation problems.

Along with this call for leadership, warnings and appeals by Governor Collins of Florida, the Birmingham *Post-Herald*, and *Newsweek* magazine also are printed.

In an article written following a visit to Orangeburg, South Carolina, William Gordon, managing editor of the *Atlanta Daily World*, tells how economic reprisals and injustices, inspired by White Citizens' Councils, have resulted in a retaliatory boycott by Negro citizens. The article demonstrates how the unreasonable course of Southern bigots not only endangers individual progress but is muddying the once-clear prospect of future economic development for the entire Southern region.

Rounding out the issue, Otis Durant Duncan writes of the desegregation progress in Oklahoma; and how the state is rapidly moving toward equality for all its citizens.

Contributions to the Southern Regional Council are tax-exempt.

A CALL FOR ECONOMIC LEADERSHIP

Following is the text of a letter sent by the Southern Regional Council to State Chamber of Commerce presidents in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia:

Dear Sir:

We write you out of a deep concern for the present threat to the moral and economic well-being of the South arising out of controversies over segregation. It is our hope that your organization, which is committed to the progress of your State, will use its influence to promote discussion and understanding between genuinely representative members of both races.

Reasonable men and women in the South are disturbed by the extremist views which now dominate the public life of our region. They recognize that we will not solve our problems or advance the interests of the South by indulging our prejudices and passions. They are distressed by the absence of leadership on the side of calmness, constructiveness, and good will. They believe that racial differences can be worked out in every community by responsible white and Negro citizens.

Yet these people of good will are all but voiceless and powerless in the emotional climate which prevails. Our public policies on segregation are being dictated by fear and hysteria. The choice before the South is falsely represented as a choice between absolute segregation and immediate, all-out integration. Defiance, resistance, nullification, repression, and intimidation are the order of the day, and it is no surprise that they bring in their wake violence, which everyone claims to abhor. Unless this trend is reversed, the South faces the prospect of grave economic and cultural damage.

In the last fifteen years, the South has embarked on an unprecedented period of economic growth: industrialization, business and financial development, and a general rise in prosperity. Not only continued progress but the gains that have already been made are imperilled by today's secessionist policies.

Will the new industries sought by the Southern States be eager to build expensive plants in areas where the existence of public schools is in doubt, where tension and violence threaten, where public officials advocate political and economic reprisals against all who disagree with them, where the very maintenance of law and order is uncertain?

Can we hope to sell our state bonds in the national market at reasonable interest rates while the air echoes with threats to abolish the schools and other public facilities?

In the face of such conditions, can we hope to hold and attract the talent we need to develop our resources — the ablest teachers, scientists, professional people, executives in business and industry?

Can the South hope to take its rightful place in economic, religious, cultural, and political councils while our leadership seeks to isolate us from the rest of the nation and the world?

If the South is to continue to progress as a modern industrial society, we must meet the great question of our time

LET'S USE OUR HEADS

Reprinted from Birmingham *Post-Herald*

If ever there was a time when we needed to keep our heads and watch our words and actions it is now.

No thoughtful citizen of the South minimizes the dangers with which we live.

For the problems which plague us there are no ready answers.

How foolish then, at such a time, to permit ourselves to be confused and divided by propaganda deliberately planned to goad us to rashness and to replace reason with blind emotion.

Yet just that is happening in our community.

"Black lists" secretly circulated to spread vicious rumor in time will destroy our unity.

Already "rumors" aimed at a number of outstanding local business concerns are doing them untold harm and they are defenseless. . . .

Such rumors are always hard to track down. The source is vague and elusive. . . .

How foolish can we get? How careless?

If this program was designed to foster suspicion and breed hate among us it certainly is succeeding. But unless we as individuals want to be a party to it then we should start using our heads.

Let's be quick to demand proof. Let's be careful indeed before we denounce another.

with maturity and responsibility. We must, as a reasonable people, weigh the alternatives before us calmly and realistically, giving full consideration to their consequences. We must chart our public course with a sane regard for the changing demands of our age, rather than blind, emotional attachment to the past.

The first step in this critically needed process is a calm sharing of views and ideas by informed representatives of both races within the South. Each community should be given both opportunity and encouragement to work out in this way its adjustment to the legal requirements of the Supreme Court decision.

For each Southern community there is a wise, workable program, neither rebellious nor precipitate, which sensible local people can agree upon. They will need to work together to find the facts, and then they will reach a decision together. Thereafter, with surprising acceptance, the workable plan can come into effect. You and your associates represent one of the South's strongest forces for orderly procedure. We sincerely urge that you lend the resources and influence of your organization toward the carrying out, in detail, community by community, of this general plan.

Bigotry Dims South's Future

It is evident that the bright future of the South in industry is being dimmed by racial tensions. And national industrialists, once eager to move South, are taking a second look at the Southern picture before investing capital in plant locations where racists are spreading their poisons.

This threat to the Southern industrial developments is two-fold. Industrialists not only are fearful of the turmoil and violence that might result from racial bigotry but look with a skeptical eye at areas where the economic boycott is being used against merchants and companies accused of having partisan interests in the segregation question.

Although it is being denied in some quarters, it is nevertheless true that national leaders are studying the long range effect the race question might have on industry; and national writers are beginning to publish the facts that these leaders are uneasy over the situation. Southern boycotts against individuals and companies are beginning to receive full coverage of the press.

The economic boycott by white citizens first came into prominence in Mississippi and is now being practiced in Alabama and South Carolina. It has been used against Negroes who petition for their rights and against businesses which have been accused of aiding the process of integration. And more recently, the pro-segregation elements have discovered, to their dismay, that the economic weapon is a two-way street. Negroes have been using their tremendously increased purchasing power in retaliation for injustices heaped on them.

And despite denials from some Southern sources, many Southern leaders are definitely aware of the harm of racial violence, tensions, and boycotts. This awareness is evident even in Mississippi. Late last year, Hugh White, then governor of Mississippi, said in regard to racial violence, "Our state's economy has (already) been severely injured. If they can say state law has broken down, there's no telling what is going to happen."

In regard to boycotts, Mississippi State Senator William Alexander warned, "We have lifted the banners of bitterness and prejudice above our feeling of common sense and decency against some people and companies whose records for as long as a half century have been friendly and helpful." After noting that a land of boycott is hardly a place to attract new industry, he added, "We cannot afford boycotts. We have the problem with us of sustaining and augmenting the tremendous advances we have achieved in the postwar period."

Proof that the South's economic pudding is turning sour because of the integration conflict can be seen in the statements of industrial leaders. Glenn Fowler writes in the *New York Times* that one of the country's largest plant location consulting firms reports a "definite diminishing of the desire of industry to move South."

The *Times* article quotes Leonard Yaseen, senior partner of Fantus Factory Locating Service, as saying "This feeling may be temporary, but it's there. And it's based exclusively on hard-headed business prospects, not related to

where the sympathies of management lie on the question of integration."

Sylvia Porter, New York financial columnist, quotes L. Clinton Hoch, a partner in the Fantus firm, who reported: "At least 20 corporation moving projects are being seriously reconsidered in the light of the situation in the South. Now it's a question whether the problem is serious enough to slow down the South's industrial growth. Maybe it's only temporary, but if they don't find a solution (to the integration problem), it'll be more than temporary."

Miss Porter, in a syndicated column from Charlotte, North Carolina, summed up the situation neatly, when she wrote:

"Put in simple, yet superlatively significant dollars-and-cents terms, it is:

"That the increasingly violent conflict over integration of the Negro will, if it continues, seriously set back the plans of industries all over America to expand in and move to the Southeast.

"If this happens — AND IT IS ALREADY STARTING TO HAPPEN — then:

"The strong industrial upsurge upon which the development plans of Charlotte and every other leading city in the South are based — will fall far short of expectations;

"The South's great transition from economic colonialism to an industrialized, alive, sophisticated society will be shamefully slowed;

"The now bright production-employment-income picture will be perceptibly darkened;

"The profound industrial revolution of the South — which just in the last 15 years has slashed unemployment and dramatically raised living standards — will be interrupted."

The feeling that this progress will be impeded by tension surrounding the integration issue is shared, at least partly, by Boyd Campbell, president of the United States Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Campbell, who is chairman of the board of the Mississippi School Supply Co., president of the Mississippi State School Book Depository, and president of the Office Supply Co., in a speech to the Southern States Industrial Relations Conference, said:

"I am merely stating a fact when I say that this issue (segregation) has created a host of new tensions in major segments of the Southern states. Northern business men are thoroughly aware of this. We all know that some Northern concerns have moved South or have thought about moving South to escape tension and in the hopes of conducting their businesses in an orderly, fair and equitable way. I am inclined to the opinion that not very many men will exchange a familiar kind of tension — no matter how irksome — for an unknown kind of tension."

Depressing as the situation is, the problem is not insoluble, however.

Miss Porter again summed up the situation when she wrote:

"If American industry is to continue building up this whole area (South), it must be able to count on an urban, worldly atmosphere in which the men coming in can work at ease and their families live without tension.

"In Charlotte, the most encouraging thing I discovered was the beginning awareness of the economic force involved in this issue — as distinct from the emotional, social, political, legal forces.

"It could be that the economic force will be the greatest of them all in helping the South toward a solution and thus helping it stay firmly on the road toward a brilliant destiny."

It could be — and let's hope it happens.

Boycotts Can Cut Two Ways

By WILLIAM GORDON

It was news of a boycott by Negroes, organized pressure against whites which caused me to drive into South Carolina. And I shall never forget that brisk autumn day when I sat in the home of one of Orangeburg's most distinguished Negro women. The house stood in full view, and one could get a pretty good perspective of the business, the industry and even some of the homes of this town of 15,000 inhabitants.

"We even taught them their prayers, my grandfather often told us," the woman said waving at the view before us. . . . It was difficult for her to understand why the white people of the town had turned down a request by parents to integrate the public schools. It was more difficult in light of the fact that Negroes and whites had lived and worked side by side for generations, and that in many instances, her forebears had "taught them how to pray."

This woman did not understand that the recent Supreme Court ruling against segregation in education had, in fact, aroused some of the latent prejudices of whites, even though it had cut the legal barrier and allowed the more liberal elements to move forward with the times. Without full knowledge of many historical implications, it is hard to understand some native behavior, particularly in states like South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi.

The hard-core areas have produced a new kind of "mob-rule," some known as hate groups, opposing everything from Catholicism to Negroes playing on the same athletic teams with whites.

In South Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama, it's the White Citizens' Councils, the well publicized economic pressure groups. With few exceptions, roots of the Councils seem more firmly buried in small towns, and in those areas with sparse population. Their members are usually the "elite, church going, club and business-minded folk who also claim to be God-fearing." Orangeburg and the surrounding areas have about eight or ten active chapters of the White Citizens' Councils.

"It is easy to obtain membership," one man said. "The main requirement is to be white and take a stand against integration of the public schools."

The White Citizens' Councils became active in Orangeburg after some fifty or more Negroes petitioned the local board to integrate the schools.

"It all came without warning," a woman said. "There were families with small children, old people who could not get about, the ill, all caught in the grip of the squeeze."

She told how milk firms refused to deliver products to the homes of parents whose names appeared on the petition. There were also bread firms, gasoline distributors and even bottling companies, all locally owned, refusing to serve Negro business firms and Negro families. Those without businesses were fired straight out. One man said:

"My boss called me in off the job one day.

William Gordon is managing editor of the Atlanta Daily World *and was a Neiman Fellow.*

"'Did you sign this petition?'" he snapped.

The man said his boss produced the copy of a newspaper carrying the names of all petitioners. Seeing his own name in print, he said he could not deny that he had signed. When he admitted signing, his boss asked him to withdraw and make a statement declaring his position. The man refused to do so. He was fired on the spot. Other firings followed this one. As one man observed:

Names Printed

The local newspaper printed the list of petitioners in several editions and whites all over Orangeburg seemed to have a good supply of copies.

"The Councils struck without regard to social distinction," one man said. There was the contractor who had done a large portion of business for white business firms, individuals and even private builders."

"Orangeburg is my home," he said. "I once had more business than I could handle during the height of the season. But now, I'm lucky to get three decent jobs a month."

I learned that this man was once quite prominent in Orangeburg. He had been known to employ as many as a dozen people full time. But since the Councils came he has even been approached while on the job and told: "We are sorry, but we can't use you anymore." More incidents followed without explanation.

A local minister and businessman thought he had established himself well in the city until one day he was told that no more credit would be extended him for gasoline products. He was soon forced out of business. There have been other instances, during recent weeks, where Negroes were turned down when they attempted to obtain credit, or extend credit where it had previously been made available.

"Obtaining a mortgage to build a home is almost out of the question," one resident said.

"This should be a ripe market for a Negro insurance firm or lending institution," said another.

"The great problem regarding a Negro lending institution," one man said. "would be that of obtaining a charter for local operations." It was apparent that this man feared opposition from the Citizens' Councils. This fear was more apparent later when I learned that a Negro had tried to work as a broker. He had difficulty getting sufficient financial backing even though he had good credit rating in the city.

Much of the city's economy is tied to the two Negro colleges. There is some industry and more is slowly coming. But there's still not enough to effectively change attitudes and customs. But despite operations of the White Citizens' Councils, economic pressure in Orangeburg has begun to backfire. A young Negro business man, a native of Orangeburg and college graduate was the first to testify to this.

Overestimation

"The Negroes in Orangeburg overestimated the white man's integrity when they petitioned the school board," he said while sitting in his ultra-modern home. Across the street from Jim Sulton's home is a modern up-to-date Esso Service Station, which he and a brother have been operating for several years. Located in the stream of motor traffic, they enjoy Negro and white trade. Jim Sulton and his wife have two small children. His wife has been a teacher. But she has not tried for another job since their last baby was born only a few months ago.

"They cut off all my credit," he replied. "They have tried everything short of violence to squeeze Negroes economically. The man came and took the ice cream box away from my station. I haven't had Cokes in the station since July. I know this has hurt some of the small business people, but the results have forced Negroes to organize as I have never seen them do before."

Fortunate

This young businessman has been fortunate — fortunate enough to be able to buy with cash and also fortunate that his firm, Standard Oil Co., has not stooped to orders of the Citizens' Councils. The fact is, he gets his products from Charleston, S. C. He was fortunate again, in that he was economically able to assist others. He hired one of the men fired by a local appliance firm, and he has been in the midst of a campaign to secure funds for others.

"A drive for money, clothing and other items has worked well," the young leader said. "They are sticking it out because they have organized into solid groups, all taking special responsibility to obtain and distribute funds to victims of the Councils."

At a recent rally in Orangeburg, Negroes raised over $3,000. They raised funds in Columbia, S. C., where similar groups are being formed to fight boycotts. Clothing, food, and other items are being bought in a pool and rationed out quietly to those in need. There are periodic meetings to keep up interest.

"The NAACP has been sharply criticized for action by Negroes in the boycott," a leader said. "But many Negroes realize they are being kicked around by the White Citizens' Councils and they keep us posted on the Councils' activities."

By some quiet method, Negroes have secured the names of local white merchants who are members of the Citizens' Councils. There are 23 such business firms listing membership with the pressure groups. Negro leaders showed me a list of these businesses, which they distribute widely at churches, gatherings, parties and other functions wherever a crowd might be: "Don't patronize these local firms! Bryant's Drug Store, Becker's, Coble Dairy, Coca-Cola, Curtis Candy Co., Duncan Supply, Edisto Theatre, Holmon Grocery, Horne Motors, Kirkland Laundry, Lance Crackers, Lay's Potato Chips, Lane's Television, Limehouse Men's, Orange Cut-Rate, Paradise Ice Cream, Smoak Hardware, Sunbeam Bread, Shell Oil, Tom's Toasted Peanuts, Taylor Biscuit Co., Waltz Grocery and Fersner's 5 & 10." The action is getting sharp results. A local theatre has almost been forced to close its section designated for Negro patronage.

One Fear

Those fighting the economic squeeze seem to have no inhibitions about what will happen to them, one family says. What most parents fear is what may happen to some of the youngsters having to go to and from school. So far, there have been only two incidents involving youngsters. The first concerned a lad of 14, charged with delivering a note to the home of a white woman. The woman accused him of "annoying her." The boy was taken into custody by police and later released by the judge who claimed, "There was not a sign of evidence in the whole thing." Local citizens raised funds and sent the boy out of town.

The second incident involved a youngster of college age, who happened to be a carrier for the local newspaper. The boy said, during deliveries, he had been taking the paper through the front entrance of a down-town restaurant. One

day, he was told by a woman employee of the place to come to the back door. His reply: "I'm sorry, madam, I don't make it a habit of entering through back doors, people get shot that way." The boy lost his newspaper route, and it was also rumored that he was dismissed from one of the local colleges.

College Role

How the local colleges entered the boycott against the Citizens' Councils was told by a quiet-mannered youngster at South Carolina State College. One of the leaders of the student council, the youngster comes from a section near Charleston. He is majoring in natural science, but he wants to be a minister. He expects to graduate this spring and go back and work as a "leader of his people."

"We entered the boycott quietly when we heard that the local Coca-Cola Company refused to service certain Negro merchants. They couldn't give away the drinks to us after this. The fact is, we just learned how easy it was to do without Cokes.

"We are even learning to bake our own bread," he said.

I learned later that the branch office of a cleaning firm, located near the college, had closed because students failed to patronize the place. Those who don't do their own cleaning, send their clothes to Columbia. The students are also learning to do without certain brands of potato chips, peanuts and ice cream, particularly those listed with backing of the Citizens' Councils.

Student leaders at the state college are aware of the dangers, so they work carefully among themselves. Their fight against injustice seemingly has been well timed and efficiently organized. Not only have they obtained economic results, but they have also gained sympathy from other schools and other parts of the State. They have screened their top leadership and they work in small groups. They have been careful not to get involved in any matters that might discredit members of the faculty, and they also have guarded against the destruction of property.

"We are not out for publicity or any fan-fare," one of the student leaders said.

On leaving the huge campus, one gets the impression that these young people were carrying on a most effective fight against the Councils, and it was all being done quietly. But one also got the feeling that color was not the only factor being fought by the Councils.

Whites known to sympathize with the Negro's cause have found themselves caught in the grip of the economic vise. A young white man when caught pondering the situation was told by a Negro friend to "Do what we are doing, stand up for a principle."

"I can't afford it," he replied. "I have a family with two small children, and they must eat. If I take a stand now, I'll be sure to lose my job and perhaps get run out of town."

Aid

So far, a lone white man, a Catholic priest, has openly joined the fight with Negroes. He has attended meetings, and taken part in fund raising to aid the victims of the economic squeeze. He has not escaped ridicule, however, even from the local press. Aroused over the results he has been getting, someone wrote his bishop asking that he be removed. In his answer the Bishop rebuked the Citizens' Councils for their activities, calling them "sinful." He in turn commended the priest for working to defeat the practices of racism. As far as I could learn. he is still in the thick of the fight in Orangeburg.

Negro leaders also informed me that

one white merchant in the town has taken a stand against the Citizens' Councils. His position has netted him a large portion of Negro trade. Meanwhile, other merchants, without dropping their Councils' backing, are trying to find means to get Negroes to come back to them. So far, their efforts have been futile.

Behind Scenes

Meanwhile, quietly but effectively, some whites have been working behind the scene to support Negroes in their efforts in Orangeburg. Most of this support has been legal advice.

The fight against the economic squeeze in Orangeburg has not been without sacrifice by Negroes.

"We have taken up mortgages, paid debts for people, and even got jobs for some," said a prominent widow, who is an official of the NAACP. As I talked quietly to this distinguished woman who has been living in the city for the past 40 years, some interesting sidelights, involving pressure, came to light.

"The mayor of this city," she said, "has been right to this door many times. We voted for him in the last election. He rode into office on the balance of power vote we gave him. Yet, he has come here, many times, asking me to take my name off that petition. But I won't," she concluded.

The woman also told how the local newspaper editor has called her home repeatedly requesting statements regarding the NAACP's stand, but that she had refused "knowing that whatever I said would be twisted."

The same woman has received threatening notes telling her to stay away from meetings of the NAACP.

"If you go to another such meeting someone will pick you up from the streets," a recent note read. She turned the note over to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI also has other letters sent to Negro leaders.

Negroes in Orangeburg lack the support of the local press, as is true in many pro-segregation areas in the South.

In a recent article appearing in the "Times and Democrat," dated December 11, 1955, headlined "Local NAACP Official Says Life Is Threatened in Note" only brief mention is made concerning the recipient of the note. Most of the article is devoted to quotes from W. T. C. Bates, President of the Orangeburg Citizens' Council, stating his opinions. The trend has been to play down favorable news concerning Negroes and play up that with a negative appeal. The approach has also been to ridicule whites who sympathize with Negroes.

But back of the Orangeburg experience, one senses an even deeper meaning. Such a meaning has far-reaching implications. Here is where the Citizens' Councils have failed to break the spirit of Negroes through pressure tactics. Moreover, the move has served to further intensify their efforts and stiffen their resistance. For the first time, it seems Negroes were thrown into a situation where they had to join forces to survive. Their initiative has gained for them sympathy from other parts of the state, and over the South.

Progress Stifled

As I drove out of this little Southern town one Sunday evening, I trembled at the very idea of how damaging economic pressure could be; how the South, through ignorance and prejudice, has for many years stifled much of its own progress through use of such a method. The fact that economic pressure can work many ways makes it impossible to explore all the cases involved. There are

"Believe me when I say Florida cannot afford an orgy of race conflict and discord. I have talked to many here and in other regions of the United States now poised preparatory to making substantial investments in Florida. Nothing will turn these investors away quicker than the prospect of finding here communities hepped up by demagoguery and seething under the tension and turmoil of race hatred."—Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida.

many, no doubt, which never come to the surface as the Orangeburg situation has. These which have become known, came about because there was a different kind of leadership to set a case in motion. The bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, is an example. Here, Negroes possess the kind of leadership willing to strike back. They are doing it, not with violence, but with passive resistance, and their efforts are effective. They are fighting back through peaceful means, working out their problems within the framework of established American institutions.

In Mississippi, where local boycotts are ineffectual, they are taking their economic means out of the state. One bank alone in Memphis has received close to a million dollars in funds from those in Mississippi. Hundreds, living nearer to the state line of Mississippi and Tennessee, find it more convenient to do their shopping in Memphis. One businessman in the state has liquidated most of his holdings of almost $200,000 and made investments elsewhere. Many areas of Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia are losing some of their best talent, the more productive elements of the population, to other parts of the country.

Although many of their members are church-going people, the "respectable" business people of the community, the Citizens' Councils are no different from other hate groups whose objectives are to confuse, distort and condition the thinking of people against Negroes. The Councils have become the backers of political leaders. Their tactics still follow the rules of the old lynch mob, except today, the dirty work is done behind closed doors.

A reporter on the Birmingham News (September, 1954) describes the Citizens' Councils in these words:

"A refined descendant of the Ku Klux Klan is riding again in the South to protect Dixie's school system from the United States Court.

"This time there are no bed sheet robes, no violence thus far, and none of the ritual mumbo-jumbo of the night riders of the Reconstruction era.

"In place of the bull whips, the new Citizens' Councils have substantial economic pressure to handle what they term agitators —both white and Negro—who think the Supreme Court way rather than the Southern way of segregation."

Those who promote mob rule often become victims of their own creations. There are moral and social implications which outweight the evil inherent in anti-racial and anti-religious organizations. Economic pressure used against minorities has no basis for survival. And history has a way of repeating itself. Hate groups "contain the seeds of their own destruction." Economic pressure, in a dynamic social order, has a habit of cutting both ways.

Industrial Progress at Stake

A Letter by Douglas Smith in the Arkansas Gazette

There may not seem at first glance to be any connection between the efforts of Arkansas to obtain new industries and its efforts to solve the school integration problem. But I think there is an important connection and that more thought ought to be given to it.

It is not that the average industrialist in the North and East has any strong feelings about Negroes, one way or the other. I doubt that he does, any more than the average citizen outside the South. He probably has little social contact with Negroes, but the thought that they are not entitled to equal rights probably never has occurred to him.

But he is interested strongly, when considering the establishment of a new plant, in the stability of the society and the government and the general attitudes of the people in a region which is new to him.

And he has a big nation in which to choose. It should not be supposed in the South that only the Southern states are making strong efforts to attract industry. Every state in the Union is doing it, some of them spending far more money in their efforts than would be possible for Arkansas.

Does anyone really think that the kind of industrialist Arkansas wants and needs is going to be attracted to a state where there is a prospect of years of turmoil and expensive litigation before it decides how its public schools are going to be operated? The fly-by-night sweatshop operator would not be concerned about such matters, of course, because he doesn't care what kind of atmosphere he is in so long as he has cheap labor and a free tax ride.

But any community which thinks this kind of "industry" is a blessing is due for a sad awakening.

I have been away from Arkansas too long to know how the people feel about integration of the public schools, but I can imagine there is a good deal of opposition to it in some parts of the state. That was anticipated, obviously, in the Supreme Court order, which allowed for a slow and gradual process of integration. But to talk of a refusal even to begin the process and to smoke the opium of the "interpositionists" is something else again. The years of friction, turmoil and waste of the taxpayer's money that such a course would entail would make Arkansas unattractive to even the potential tourist, much less a responsible industrialist who is seeking a peaceful, orderly place in which to establish a plant.

The campaign to attract industry to Arkansas has made a splendid start. It would be a tragedy if its efforts were nullified by other actions which made it appear that the people of Arkansas are not mature enough for it to share in the orderly prosperity our nation is enjoying.

DESEGREGATION IN OKLAHOMA

By OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Except for the appearance of a few all-Negro villages (concerning the origin of which no one is exactly sure), Oklahoma had no racial segregation of Negroes prior to Statehood in 1907. These Negro settlements may have appeared spontaneously after the Civil War when the slaves were freed without much of an effort by the Federal Government to habilitate them. Some of the Indian tribes were friendly toward the freedmen while others were relatively hostile. Under the territorial governments (1889 to 1907) there was no segregation of the races. Moreover, both Negroes and white women voted in free democratic elections until Statehood disfranchised them temporarily.

The admission of Oklahoma as a sovereign state of the Union revived some of the southern heritage, former Arkansans and Texans numbering heavily in the population. The southern influence was strong enough to inject legal segregation in only three respects, education, transportation, and marriage. The Oklahoma state law still forbids a Negro to marry any person except another Negro, although there was no such prohibition under territorial and pre-territorial laws. Quasilegal segregation appeared in the form of restrictive covenants, although it was directed against different races in different areas. The all-Negro villages, by charter or by covenant, forbade whites to own land in them. In other towns Negroes cannot own property, and in still others there was not even residential segregation until recently. Even then, it originated in economics and in contracts, primarily. Incidentally, where residential segregation was not practiced, as in the older parts of Muskogee, Negro shacks and "shot gun" houses were virtually unknown.

Of course, restaurants, swimming pools, hotels, parks, libraries, art galleries, public assemblies, educational associations, athletic organizations and the like, adopted segregation policies in conformity with southern traditions at the moment when the State initiated Jim Crowism in schools, public conveyances, and marriage. Probably the most stubborn of all barriers to desegregation in Oklahoma, except the marriage restriction, will prove to be the swimming pool, especially when privately owned. It seems to be the heart of some of the most deeply rooted racial prejudices. (However, Oklahoma City has announced an end to segregation in its City-owned pools.) As everyone knows, clandestine marriages and sexual cohabitation of white men and Negro women have traditionally been too common in the South to provoke comment, except when outsiders questioned them.

Oklahoma's educational segregation law proved to be a fiscal guarantee for Negro children which had few parallels anywhere. Candidly, its greatest evil was not in robbing Negroes of schools but in pampering and over-indulgence with-

---

Otis Durant Duncan is professor of sociology at Oklahoma A. & M.

in the paternalistic segregation pattern. This law does not exclusively segregate Negroes in education. It states that whichever race (white or Negro) may happen to comprise a minority of the population of a school district shall be given a "separate school," and the school board members shall be of the majority race. (Theoretically, a white school would be under a Negro board, if Negroes were to achieve a majority of the population in a school district.)

The law further provides that the majority school is to be supported by a local district tax (as well as from state appropriations, excise taxes, etc.), while the separate schools in each county are to be supported by a county-wide general property tax (supplemented by other state revenues). The proceeds of this tax for separate schools were divided among the several separate schools (if there were several) according to scholastic population. In addition, all buildings for separate schools were paid for by county-wide bond issues. Yet, the revenues thus derived had to be turned over to the school boards (in independent districts) for administration. The funds thus earmarked were often extravagantly munificent, enabling the separate school to have lavish buildings while its majority school neighbor might be writhing in the agonies of insufficient school housing.

Delaying Action

Parenthetically, when it finally became apparent to the average person that desegregation was only "around the corner," the whites staged a brave delaying action by voting bonds to build better schoolhouses for Negro than they could have for their own children. Around 1947 to 1950, Oklahoma literally "broke out in a rash" of bond voting for the construction of "separate but superior" minority schools, which on a county basis always meant schools for Negroes.

This school finance law would be ancient history, since it was repealed by popular referendum in 1955, except for the vague possibility that the question of titles to separate school buildings remains in doubt, as does also the right of recovery of operating surpluses on July 1, 1955. It appears that the school districts have won the custody of any surplus operating funds remaining when the new school law became effective. The general opinion is that the school districts will be able to retain custody of the separate school buildings by default, if by no other more positive decision. At any rate, Oklahoma's "screwy" separate school finance law stands repealed. There are no separate schools. The issue now begins to revolve around the matter of employment rights of Negro teachers, old and new. But that is a new question.

Oklahoma has only one institution of higher learning for Negroes, Langston University. For years accrediting associations steadfastly refused it accreditation. Admittedly, the State had not made the university (an euphemistic appellation *ad absurdum*, since there was no school of law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, forestry, nor of graduate schools) accreditable. However, the Fisher and the McLaurin cases had barely begun to attract attention when Langston University became an accredited institution, and when it had not added a single new facility, for the lack of which its accreditation long had been withheld. Thus, a second attempt to stay the march toward desegregation came into being, but only to turn out abortively, as later developments proved.

Largely by the instigation of this writer, the Southwestern Sociological So-

ciety was induced to invite Negro sociologists to participate in its activities. Some of the Texas members demurred, but they were outnumbered by other Texans who were favorable. So, on Good Friday, 1946, Negro sociologists, about six of them, met with the Southwestern Sociological Society at the Texas Hotel in Fort Worth, where there was also a convention of Texas cattle barons. Eyes of the barons bulged when they saw what happened. Two years later the same hotel refused to allow Negro members to enter its elevators.

Academic Group

Simultaneously, with the assistance of a colleague from the field of chemistry, this same writer importuned the Oklahoma Academy of Science to accept Negro members. It did. A year later, Dr. S. P. Massie, then of Langston University but now at Fisk University, was the secretary-treasurer of the Academy, a position he held for three years, and then became its president. That was probably the first and only time a Negro has held such a position in a non-segregated southwestern academic group of any kind.

While this was going on, Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher was waging a legal battle to enter the law school of the University of Oklahoma. She was partly victorious. The Supreme Court ruled that the State of Oklahoma must provide her with a law school education, whereupon a law school, with three white professors, was set up for her in the rotunda of the State Capitol. This did not last for several reasons. Mrs. Fisher's enthusiasm for it was not great. Perhaps her preparation to study law was insufficient, and the Oklahoma lawyers were not enthusiastic. Then, George W. McLaurin was well on the way to a court decision requiring Oklahoma to grant him entrance to a graduate school. The court decided in favor of McLaurin. Since no one could create a graduate school in the rotunda of the State Capitol, the implication was obvious.

The boards of institutions of higher learning, the board of regents of higher education, deans of graduate schools, college presidents, and other officials met to formulate a resolution to dispose of the McLaurin case, as well as of others expected to follow it. The conference recommended that (1) there should be no attempt to develop a graduate school at Langston University, not only because of the smallness of the institution, but also because of the doubtful future which the university itself might experience, and (2) the existing graduate schools would accept qualified Negro graduate students residing in Oklahoma. It was feared that neighboring southern states would flood the two principal graduate schools with Negroes unless they took some precaution against such a potential eventuality.

The legislature then met and passed a law to permit Negroes to enter the graduate schools of the heretofore white colleges and to enter undergraduate courses not offered at Langston University, "but only on a segregated basis." Pretty soon, national magazines were displaying pictures of G. W. McLaurin in classes at the University of Oklahoma, peeking in from behind screens and cloakrooms. Norman, the site of the University of Oklahoma, had always been a "white" town, and had once enjoyed the reputation of having a "sundown curfew" for Negroes. But McLaurin lived in Oklahoma City only twenty miles away. So, he spent much of his time shuttling back and forth and keeping behind a tree, a post, a half open door, or some other prescribed segregating instrumentality.

By 1948, Negro students were appear-

ing at both the major college campuses in Oklahoma. At Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, the administration observed that the legislature had neglected to define clearly the penalties for violating its liberalized segregation law. Then, someone thought of the law of physics which segregates all physical objects — no two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time. All laws literally ceased to restrict Negroes at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. Dining halls, cafeterias, libraries, and dormitories opened their doors. There has never been a record of the racial composition of students. Only in the barber shop, operated by private concession in the Student Union, does any question of campus segregation remain. The 1955 law has made segregation illegal, and the putative law school at the State Capitol has vanished so long ago that few college students can now remember it.

There are still quirks of law in Oklahoma which have not been clarified. For example, the statutes forbid a privately owned or endowed school to accept Negro students, unless it maintains a separate branch for them. That law has been neither attacked nor repealed. The private institutions are now beginning to ignore it. Only in the fall of 1955, did the board of regents of Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee, by a split vote, decide to admit Negro students beginning with the spring semester of 1956.

Little Opposition

Likewise, integration proceeds sporadically in spots but with little opposition in the public schools. During the first week of February, Cushing, Oklahoma, announced that a Negro teacher in that community had been assigned to teach driver education in all the schools. Within two days he had acquired twenty white pupils. Numerous Negro schools have had to forfeit athletic contests during the academic year 1955-56 because their students were being absorbed into the white schools. The Negro and white high school athletic associations are being fused rapidly, and probably will be unable to operate separately after the 1955-56 scholastic year.

Merger

In August of 1955, the Oklahoma Teachers' Association (Negro) voted to accept an invitation to merge with the Oklahoma Educational Association (white) as soon as it can liquidate its business.

There is no organized group in Oklahoma devoted to the obstruction of the integration program. Each new issue meets with a more or less feeble protest which soon dies. The Oklahoma election law requiring a Negro candidate's name to carry the word "Negro" opposite his name on a ballot is in its dying gasps. The bus drivers and railroad conductors began ignoring Jim Crow regulations long before the ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission. Occasionally, white restaurants accept Negro patrons, even if on special occasions.

Oklahoma's Negro population has never equaled one tenth of the total. It is now probably not more than five per cent. In many areas, schools and churches, both weak, are the only neighborhood institutional bonds Negroes have left. They seldom have movies. Doctors, dentists, lawyers, bankers, and other professional classes, save the preacher and the teacher, are utterly lacking in all but a mere half dozen or so Negro residential areas. Now it is not unusual to hear Negroes vainly pleading that their schools be saved. Negroes are beginning to attend white churches —

WHAT THE COURT SAID, a pamphlet containing the texts of the Supreme Court's two school rulings and an analysis by Professor Robert A. Leflar of the University of Arkansas Law School. 10¢ per copy. Available from the Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

often in face of resentment from other Negroes. The ordinary Negro of the domestic laboring class is quite restive. He is increasingly aware of the fact that when his school vanishes, when his church goes white, and when he must accept white standards in growing frequency he faces a painful adjustment. As a school board member, this writer knows the meaning of being forced to administer the *coup de grace* to a mortally sick social institution while staring at the imploring expression in its terror-stricken eyes.

Yet, there is no other course. Even if society in conscience can tolerate the ignominees of segregation, it cannot abide its diseconomies and its *divisiveness* in the face of a world already anxious to be the pallbearers of this nation. If Oklahoma has moved more rapidly toward desegregation that most other states, it is because its problems are simpler. The people of Oklahoma worship no tradition, except the tradition of having no well defined traditions. While that has its disadvantages in some respects, it facilitates certain social adjustments. No one is more thankful than the people of Oklahoma that the University of Alabama's experience could not happen in Oklahoma.

Progress Slowed

Reprinted from *Newsweek*

The Southward migration of U. S. industry may slow considerably if tension continues to mount over the segregation issue.

One major company has already closed its Southern plant; other companies considering a southward move are having a second thought.

The most recent cause for caution: Reports of a scattered boycott by white customers against companies believed to be "antisegregation."

Sales of one brand of beer in Mississippi have declined since a publication called The White Sentinel reported the brewer was a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (The truth: The brewer merely gave a membership to one of its Negro salesmen.) Sales are still down in several Southern states despite a flying trip by a company delegation to clear up the situation.

Some auto dealers in Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina claim that they are losing business because of similar charges made against their company.

Several Southern wholesalers canceled orders for a brand of cigarettes because of alleged donations to the NAACP by the manufacturer.

At least a dozen major, blue-chip companies have been accused of one thing or another, although most of the damage has been done to local businessmen in the South who have run afoul of the vague accusations and rumors that feed the boycott "movement."

The prevailing tactic for the victims: Don't dignify the boycotters by recognizing them.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"Our success in combating Communism may depend on our ability to rally the rest of the world to our cause. It seems doubtful that this can be accomplished by military and economic aid alone. Such aid will also be forthcoming from the other side. What the other side cannot offer is freedom and justice. It cannot offer the American Dream, which has charmed the world for almost 200 years. The decision of the Supreme Court holding segregation in the schools unconstitutional has done as much to reawaken faith in America as all the money and guns we have given other countries since the war. For the purpose of gaining the adherence of the people of the earth in the struggle with Communism the moral force of America is as important as her military and economic power."—Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic.

▲ ▲ ▲

"(Interposition) makes me think of a course in English literature and a line from Shakespeare: 'A tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing'."—A Texas student of government.

▲ ▲ ▲

"Our traditional concept of freedom includes 'spiritual' freedom which translated into modern terms, means freedom to develop all facets of personality, limited only by the individual's capacity to respond to training. This freedom of the individual to realize his full potential (spiritual, intellectual, cultural and economic) must be accompanied by responsibility for recognition that others have these same rights. No individual or class can be secure in their own freedom if it is possible in the society to deny freedom unjustly to another individual or class."—Dr. Erie I. Darnall, consulting psychologist, Dallas, Texas.

"Love will be returned for hate, nonviolence will be returned for violence. This (Montgomery bus boycott) isn't just a fight for Negroes. It is a fight for justice and democracy."—Dr. Martin Luther King, Ph.D., pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, Alabama.

▲ ▲ ▲

". . . why should the respected businessmen and civic leaders in communities throughout the state (Mississippi) continue to support a movement (the Citizens' Councils) which can lead only to more criticism of Mississippi? Why should these leaders continue to sanctify the words and actions of the red-faced arm wavers by defending the organization they hide behind?"—Jay Milner in the Greenville, Mississippi, *Delta-Democrat*.

▲ ▲ ▲

". . . when citizens or states or congressmen or presidents are in disagreement as to the meaning of the Constitution, who is to decide — the complainants or the court? Is the nation to take the verdict of 19 Senators or 81 Congressmen in place of the verdict of the Supreme Court? . . . If the Court was exercising proper jurisdiction in finding that 'separate but equal' doctrine was compatible with the 14th Amendment, it is exercising proper jurisdiction in reversing that finding. We may or may not approve the reversal, but it has the same sanction of the law as the previous ruling unless we are to embrace the doctrine that we need only support the court when we like what it does."—Roscoe Drummond.